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Variations and implications of change agents' patterns or styles of interaction with client systems (individuals, groups, or multigroups) are discussed. Five styles are defined: (1) the instructor, who imparts information to clients and interacts only with his agency; (2) the paterfamilias, who exercises personal, paternalistic influence and authority; (3) the advocate, who channels agency communication and influence to the client; (4) the servitor, who simply performs tasks for clients and implements agency decisions; and (5) the community change educator, who interacts effectively with both agency and clients. A hypothetical model indicates client group responses to these change agent styles over a time span, with emphasis on the concepts of dependence, counterdependence, independence, and interdependence. The author uses his home agency to illustrate positive and negative effects of change agencies on the functioning of change agents. (ly)

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TOWARD THE STYLE
OF THE COMMUNITY CHANGE EDUCATOR

by

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TOWARD THE STYLE OF THE COMMUNITY CHANGE EDUCATOR

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TOWARD THE STYLE OF THE COMMUNITY CHANGE EDUCATOR

by

Richard Franklin

First, A Few 'Wheres'

Where-

- the siren is a more familiar sound than a family's caring chatter.
- amidst awesome opulence, public and private poverty abound. highways and homes and schoolhouses go unbuilt in the face of flagrant need.
- myths in men's minds cause them to treat their fellows as inferior or superior, or just non-feeling objects.
- many a resident on a country road and city street belongs to no community group, save a fringe religious sect.
- mountains stand stripped raw, the air is fetid and fish bellyup in sewage-riven rivers.
- virile men languish, for want of training, while skilled work remains undone.

- silence or violence among groups prevail, instead of the sense of a shared community.

Where these and comparable conditions persist, social problems exist, and community change rises as the central challenge.

And for whom are these conditions a challenge? Citizens, certainly. And community organizations and public agencies.

The more difficult the problem, the more help they need to cope with it. Help may come from countless chambers, but one is the professional person whose commitment it is to collaborate with people toward the deliberate resolution of complex and controversial issues like those here touched so lightly. This essay is about such professionals, now commonly called change agents--especially the one here termed the Community Change Educator.¹

¹Though many boggle over the usage of "change agent", in this paper, as you will see, I use it broadly to cover a wide range of helping roles.

About Community Change Itself

The change agent does not function, of course, in isolation from events and environments. And he does not initiate human conditions necessitating change. As Edgar Schein has said, "Technological change, which is proceeding at an incredible rate, creates problems of obsolescence. Social and political changes occurring throughout the world create a constant demand for new services and the expansion of presently existing ones".² Schein might have added that these are not occurring 'elsewhere', someplace out there. They have their counterparts in localities, on streets and country roads where people live, in city hall and the slum and suburbia.

The roots of forces for change, nonetheless, are often not community-imbedded. External and impersonal--even global-- factors impinge on the community. The mechanical cotton picker was not developed or manufactured in an Alabama cotton field. Yet it's impact is felt there--as well as in Chicago, Philadelphia and other points North where unemployed farm hands migrate.

²Schein, Edgar H. Organizational Psychology (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1965. p. 16)

Congress initiated the Interstate highway system, which in turn slices through or near towns and metropolises and rural neighborhoods everywhere in the USA, linking these small or large collectives of people and institutions like splices in an unending cable. Interpreting the effect of these phenomena, Alvin Gouldner comments that "as the locus of reform efforts move upward from the local to the national level, the conception and meaning of social reform changes."³

Some changes, thus, are superimposed, uninvited--more often than not unwelcome and accompanied by unintended consequences. Some, like the Interstates, bring plus and minus effects. Local choices remain. A response is required, though its nature may not be defined.

And aside from forces bearing in upon the community, it has its own internal dynamics or disequilibria at work: purposes, pains, conflicts, needs, historic norms. These can be semi-autonomous stimuli for community change. The drive for racial equality is locally as well as nationally centered, for example. The issue is more personal, less macro-culture, potentially generative of social energy for local action and reaction. Yet the factors involved may be no less mountainous or tension-tempered than the more macrocosmic forces.

³Gouldner, Alvin W. "The Sociologist as Partisan: Sociology and the Welfare State." The American Sociologist (May, 1968. p. 109)

Whether a response to external forces, or intrinsic dynamics, or both, the problem is fairly certain to be one confronted by one or more organized groups, rather than a single individual. Such groups increasingly feel inadequate, or actually lack the skill and experience to carry through a program of deliberate, intentional, planned change.⁴ Intervention by an agent to help change occur can be crucial. He, therefore, himself becomes a vector in the change process.

But which kind of vector depends upon his behavior--or pattern or style: his methods of interacting with his client system (meaning an individual, group or multigroup), his underlying motive or purpose, his philosophy about what constitutes "help". His means of entry into the problematical situation, his intensity and extensiveness of involvement in the situation, and with the people concerned also are significant--depending in part upon whether he is an "external" agent or "internal" and attached to the organization or community in which he works.

The concern in this paper is with variations and implications of these styles of helping. It concentrates mainly upon the behavior of

⁴An extensive analysis of community change, to name just one reference, appears in Roland L. Warren's Types of Purposive Social Change at the Community Level. (Waltham, Mass.: Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare, Brandeis University, 1965). He discusses particularly "collaborative", "campaign" and "contest" change strategies.

the internal change agent who is in some degree attached to the problem situation, and to whom the client system has more or less continuous access.⁵

It will also become clear that I prefer one style, one behavioral configuration, over others. The rationale, including a paradigm or model, will be delineated further along.

⁵This is contrary to the perspective of Ronald Lippitt in his article, "Dimensions of a Consultant's Job", Journal of Social Issues (Vol. 15, #2, 1959) which concentrates on the change agent who is external to the client system.

Five Behavioral Styles of the Change Agent

A way to describe change agent styles---or patterns of behavior---has been set forth by William Koch. He dubs various genre of community consultants as "Joe Ramrod", "Wheeler Dealer", "Harry Fink", "Dr. Double-talk", and "Mack Teller".⁶ These names conjure mind-pictures of recognizable types. The intent here is to explore five styles---but not quite as picaresquely and using a quite different classification system.

My typology of styles is drawn from my own experience, plus observations of change agents at work and hearing them talk about their work. To be still more specific, these impressions draw heavily from the nearly 200 "field faculty" of West Virginia University's extension or outreach education unit, the Appalachian Center.⁷ These educators work largely in local/regional non-classroom settings with a diverse mix of individuals and organizations confronting problems ranging from 1) youth impatient with the failures of their elders to design a more relevant society, to 2) the stalemate between the poor and powerless who seek more influence in community discussions, and the "Establishment" which has needs of its own.

⁶Koch, William H., Jr. "A Stance Toward Helping: Reflections on the Role of a Consultant", Adult Leadership (December, 1967, p.202).

⁷As well as work with other university extension systems in the U.S. and Australia, NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, National YMCA, etc.

That which all of these change agents seem to have in common is:

1. they are trying to use themselves, to intervene and utilize their skills, in a manner they know best to foster intentional change in the social, manmade or natural environment;

2. they are not ordinarily in "power" positions to control decisions, but depend on "influence" (knowledge, persuasion, personal involvement, charisma, varied experience, diagnostic skill, etc.) to affect change;

3. they get paid for their efforts (though volunteers may frequently fill a similar function)

These helping professionals may or may not reside in the community or organizational system with which they work. In any case, they do have a continuing relationship with their clients. (In the Appalachian Center, field staff live in or near the communities in which they normally work, have diverse degrees of self-identity with their immediate region, but work with organized groups to which they are not necessarily formally connected).

They may also, almost universally, find that resistance to community change is lively beyond all rational explanation, for the good reason that barriers to change--ignorance, intergroup tension, fear, contentment with the old or orthodox, disparity of power or influence, lack of funds or energy, non-convergence of goals, dysfunctional attitudes, on and on--which caused the problem in the first place are still present and persist vigorously.

This latter point slides into a different domain: the conditions in a community arena which support and impede change.⁸ Vital to the change agent, who needs to know all he possibly can about these manifold variables, this diverts us here from the central consideration of his behavior.

At all events, let's scan briefly the five community change agent styles as I have classified them:

1. Instructor

If one were to trace the origins of the change agent historically, likely the Instructor would first appear (teacher, minstrel, etc.). The strategy emanating from his style is to induce change through promulgating information, or through the transmittal of conclusions arising from his own investigation. He perceives himself, in a sense, as a font of wisdom. He believes that if his client system--whether convened in a classroom or an organizational boardroom--comes to know what he knows, it will undertake enlightened change (in personal behavior or social action). If he does not have the requisite data, he attempts to garner these from a library, another expert in the field, his agency's literature, even by initiating a fact-finding project.

⁸Let me refer again to Roland Warren's monograph (op. cit.). It is dotted with references to other studies and theories regarding social change. Also informative is an article by Frank Riessman, "Self-Help Among the Poor: New Styles of Social Action", Transaction (Sept./Oct., 1965).

The critical characteristic here is reliance on facts (not necessarily uncolored by perceptions and opinions). If he is an employee of a change or developmental organization, these facts often reach him in print. They may arrive on his desk in the form of mere statistics, or elaborated into discussion guides of "action-step" projects; the dependence on print, a la McLuhan, may verge on the mystical.⁹ As a result, he may spend most of his working time at his desk researching the problem, developing study material or preparing presentations.

The Instructor, thus, sees himself as disseminating his "package" --whether printed or through speech. He expects communication with his client group to be primarily sending of his messages to the group, with reaction coming mainly in queries for more information. In any discussion he becomes arbiter of correct and incorrect interpretations of the data (if he countenances interpretation).

This cursory description of the Instructor--how he acts and how he relates--oversimplifies, unquestionably. Hopefully, though, it portrays a generic style of helping that we recognize. Rarely, of course, do we find this style, pure and undiluted--even among college professors!

⁹I have speculated that the "scripture" for many change agencies is: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was Written!"

2. Pater Familias

The Pater Familias style is considered next because it frequently becomes interwoven with the Instructor syndrome of behavior. The change agent fitting this classification relates as a father to the client group. This may or may not be conscious. Whichever, he moves to "take over" the problem. He may feel the need to buffer or protect the group from the harsher factors or tensions in the problem situation. He also punishes and rewards actions of the group, directly or indirectly. He believes he knows better than the group what is best for it. He carries much of the burden of instability in the change arena. He may, for example, rather than serve as a counsellor with the City Planning Commission, fill the role of its chairman. This lends him a large amount of control, as well as provides a show case for demonstrating a forceful mode of leader behavior.

The Pater Familias agent may be permitted by the client system to act as he does from a cluster of causes. The client can be desperate, thus eager to turn the problem over to him. He may have a kind of charisma which wins adherence. His manner can be highly responsible and his commitment unquestioned. His knowledge and experience probably are greater than those whom he is helping. His emotional ties to them are clear. They, on the other hand, may be more cautious, less courageous, willing to let the agent take the flack or glory emerging from the problem situation.

This style, again, is rarely observed among change agents in unadulterated form. As already noted, it combines readily with that of Instructor--merging the authority of personality with the authoritativeness of knowledge.

3. Advocate

Fairly distinct--though verging on the above pair--is the style of advocate. His distinguishing feature is the inner assurance that he not only comprehends the social problem, but also has selected from among action alternatives the single and sole solution. In other words, he enters into a relationship with the client group--which he may form and organize himself--knowing in advance where he wants that group to go--what decisions it is to make, which steps to take. He, in effect, has a complete change program.

The Advocate, let me add, is not necessarily a radical or revolutionary--though he can be. The style, in terms of his attitudes and actions, can be observed both among militant blacks operating in the urban ghetto and among mellow engineers persuading farmers to undertake a soil conservation program: the anti-poverty worker organizing the poor to march on the state capitol, and a university extension agent promoting a project for better dental care. The variation comes in the intensity of his behavior (fanatic to casual), and in the nature of the cause or solution promoted. Yet in every case each holds to a

single purpose and a set procedure. Here, then, is a primary style among change agents.

4. Servitor

What do I mean by the Servitor pattern of behavior? *the professional exemplifying this style* In effect, he "serves" the wishes of his client system, to which he may have close psychic or occupational affiliation. He is the implementor of decisions. He may be able, in varying amounts, to influence those decisions, but only within limitations of the role. His behavior is mirror to the moods and modes around him. He is sensitive, but mainly to power centers and authority. This means he pays closer heed to the top command than to lower echelons of the organizational or community client.

For these reasons, he has less professional autonomy than other types of change agents. At times, he may even be party to blocking change, if change threatens those by whom he is controlled. In the absence of the opportunity to be socially innovative, his time goes to providing services within his client population--writing and distributing minutes of meetings, securing football tickets for members, preparing exhibits and the like. In other words, he gives to his clients by performing tasks, rather than by assisting with a process of change and development.

Absent in the Servitor pattern is the element of voluntary relationship between agent and client system, a fullness of mutual consent.

This, as Ronald Lippitt notes,¹⁰ is a vital ingredient in the transaction between the two, for it allows free choices and relative autonomy of action by both client and agent.

5. Community Change Educator

The term, Community Change Educator, may be new. It constitutes a hybrid spawned from "community consultant", "change agent" and "adult educator". These three are not at all new.

As a helping style, it is in my view the most distinctive and effective of the quintet. It, moreover, may be the more explicit and empirically grounded, owing much to the thinking and investigation of an array of applied behavioral scientists such as Carl Rogers, Jack Gibb and Ronald Lippitt.¹¹

To my knowledge, however, these and other writers do not focus their research instruments or theorizing on the behavioral style of the person I term the Change Educator as he works within the community

¹⁰Lippitt, op. cit.

¹¹Carl R. Rogers works; e.g., On Becoming A Person, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961), are widely known. A classic study of Ronald Lippitt, et. al., The Dynamics of Planned Change (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1958). Succinct and sharp is Jack R. Gibb's "Is Help Helpful?" Association Forum (National Council of YMCA, February, 1964).

demesne. Much of the remainder of this paper, thus, is given over to this style.

What, briefly, are it's distinctive marks? Central is concern by the Community Change Educator on a group-intergroup plane, rather than the individual as the medium of change. Central, too, is helping those comprising the client system to learn the how and why of change or development: he takes initiative in generating a learning environment. Aims and means link together in this focus: substance and process, decisions and decision-making, people and problems, "soft" feelings and "hard" data all interpenetrate. Above all, human occupants of a social milieu are perceived as much more crucial to that environment than physical aspects or man-invented artifacts. Human interaction between agent and client thus becomes highly emphasized, since the interaction is seen as paramount in a partnership to activate the problem solving process. The climate is one of openness to mutual influence and change.

This style is conceived in part from my and others' work as trainers or educators in community leadership and related types of experiential laboratories. Trainer behavior is loosely comparable to the Community Change Educator's. The role, I'm proposing, is transferrable to "non-training" settings. Some lab practitioners see the T (Training) Group as a microcosmic community. Here I'm reversing this notion by suggesting the community can be viewed as a "macro-lab",

in the sense that the community constitutes a client system or systems learning how to cope with, or bring about, change. The Change Educator, for example, bears down on both cognitive and emotional data in the situation as relevant to the change process, relates collaboratively with the client, helps enlarge the number of options open, and perceives the decision for the change as the responsibility of the client group.

More will be expressed later about the five basic style configurations--especially that of the Community Change Educator. (No claim is made incidentally, that the five encompass all possible helping styles. Most change agents, however, probably identify with to one or more.)

Which brings us to my change agent behavioral model.

A Style and Response Model

"Model", as here used, is not intended as a paragon (e.g., the perfect change agent): rather, as a conceptual means for viewing a matter and sifting out salient factors involved. It is hypothetical, growing out of empirical observations not tested by systematic documentation.

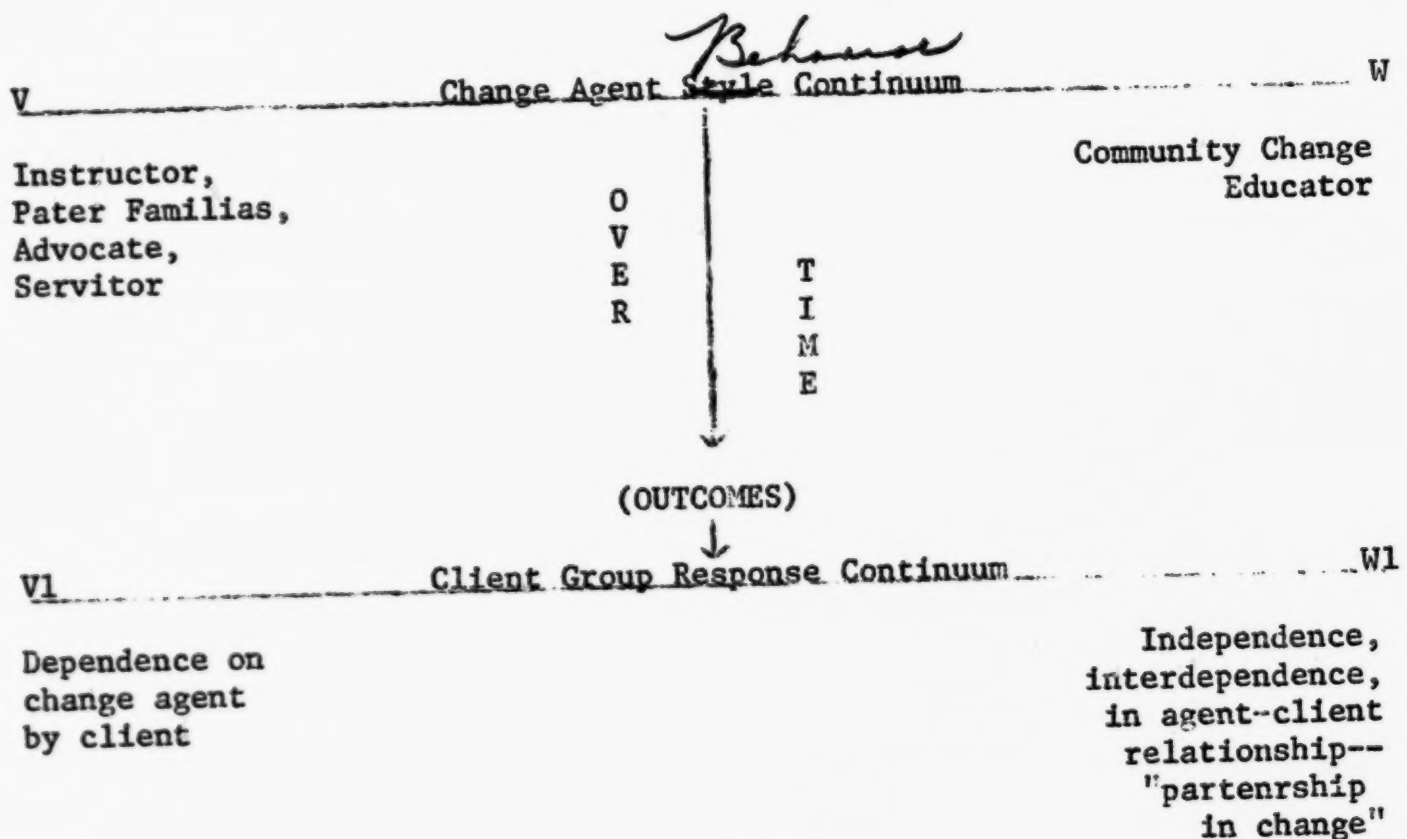
Now I want to transform the five basic styles involved in the role of change agent into a model which:

- 1) shows change agent styles as fixed, unswerving behavior-- but which in fact may range along a behavior continuum;
- 2) indicates responses to various styles, over a time span, by the client group.

The frame of reference centers particularly upon concepts of dependence, counterdependence, independence and interdependence.¹²

¹² These concepts, modified considerably, are traceable to Warren G. Bennis' "Patterns and Vicissitudes in T-Group Development", (a chapter in Leland P. Bradford, Jack R. Gibb and Kenneth D. Benne (eds.) T-Group Theory and Laboratory Method) (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964).

Here is the model, in figure form:



Now, let me explain what I mean in the above set of lines and words.

The "V-W" line¹³ indicates a range of behaviors open to a change agent. In purest form, the Instructor, Pater Familias, Advocate, Servitor styles plant themselves solidly at the "V" end of the continuum.

¹³ No significance is imputed to these letters. I have wished to bypass confusion by avoiding Douglas McGregor's usage in his "X and Y Theory" in The Human Side of Enterprise (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960).

Again in pristine purity, the Community Change Educator (CCE) appears at the "W" extreme. Along the continuum is a potential range of mixes that can change daily, if not hourly. It is conceivable that a change agent may display the characteristic conduct of a Pater Familias one moment (fatherly protection, for instance), then move to Change Educator behavior (perhaps inviting open, free expression) the next. In general, though, the trend of the first four styles is behavior that falls on the left (V) side of the scale. The strong tendency of the CCE's behavior extends along the right (W) half.

The vertical line in the figure represents the time dimension. The social contract between client and agent (often unwritten and even unspoken) is assumed to extend for a period of time. In a leadership training workshop this period may be as short as a few days; in a project to change slum conditions the time may span a few years.

The "V1-W1" lower continuum is the "impact" line. This signifies that the style of the agent has an ultimate effect upon the client group. My contention is that a style consistently and unerringly on the "V" end of the range will result in the client group remaining dependent upon the agent's help--on the V1 side of the lower scale. It is also possible that group members will try to control him through a "dominant-submissive" response to this style. In some cases (e.g., Servitor) the dependent dominance may come through a organizational affiliation. In any event, the client system is not learning self-reliance or competence in problem-solving. It continues to depend

upon the agent. (A "mini-case" in point is the women's organization leaders who, after 40 years of Pater Familias-Instructor-Servitor help, felt incapable of planning and managing their own annual conference. They, moreover, tried to maintain dominance of the agent through their helplessness.)

The "W1" segment on the client continuum correlates with the "W" range of agent behavior. That is, to the degree that he behaves as a Community Change Educator, the outcome of learning for the client system will be progressively more self-confidence to operate independently of the change agent. A sense of self-esteem, moreover, seems also to be a prerequisite for entering trustingly into an interdependent relationship--whether with an agent, another group, etc. (Another short illustration: a community's welfare and anti-poverty managers, at first unwilling to communicate openly with each other because of conflict between their groups, decided after several days of intensive encounter in a experience-centered workshop that they and some of their groups' members should meet a week later. They displayed independence regarding the professional consultants, but enough internal self-reliance to risk interdependent action with each other.)

How self-reliance or independence itself comes about is hard to define. It seems to presuppose an inner psychic feeling of strength to choose and act. I think, in any case, it is a sense of maturity needed in order for the client group to feel sufficiently secure to enter into an interdependent or collaborative relationship with the

change agent. Such a relationship is characterized by mutuality of regard and trust, and equal openness to influence, a continuing freedom of each party--client or agent--to choose to relate with or act separately from the other, and a grasp of shared aims which neither could achieve as well without the other.

Achieving (learning) self-reliance within the client system, and trust between client and agent, clearly are tricky, complex processes. Either a "V" or "W", or flexible "V" to "W", style of agent behavior can also lead to rebellious, counterdependent responses by the client group, especially in the early phases. The authoritative Instructor, for example, may cause resentment. ("He thinks he knows it all! We'll just tune him out.") The Pater Familias style may threaten the freedom of the group, causing it to reject the agent. ("We'll agree with him to his face, but sit on our hands and do nothing later. He can't order us around.")

On the other hand, the low-control, freedom-urging style of the Change Educator may at first panic the client group, also leading to rejection. ("If he doesn't know what we ought to do, we're sunk. He's suppose to be the expert, not us.") Or the permissiveness of the interactive relationship may cause the group to test the limits of that relationship--the group's agility to trap the agent into a different role, or try his tolerance for rebellion. ("Let's see if he can stand us not doing a thing this session. Maybe he will finally take charge.")

It may well take a series of sessions for a mutual-consent interdependence, a working "partnership-in-change", to emerge. Just how long depends on both the client group and the CCE.

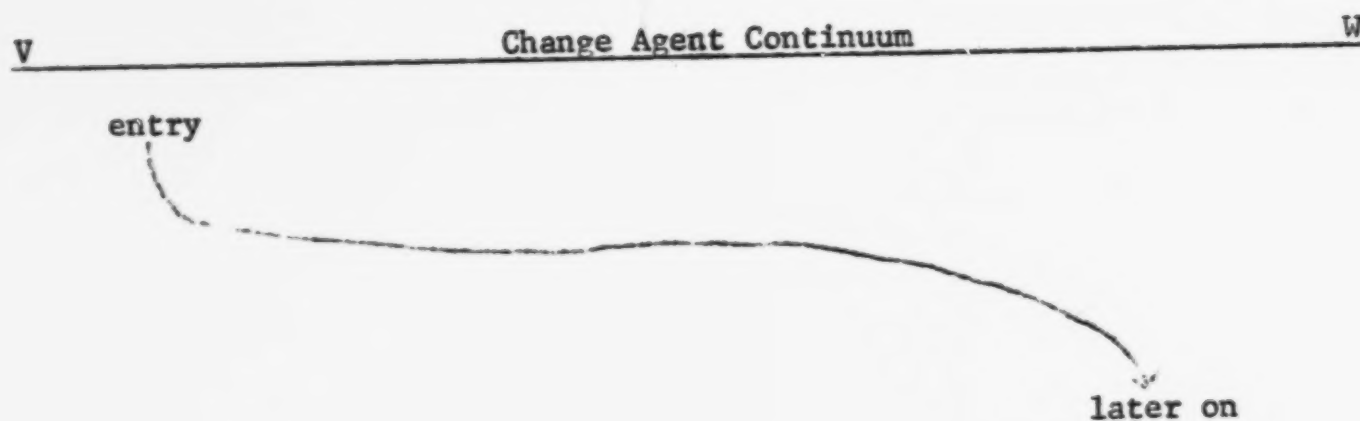
Nuances of the style-response correlation are more extensive than I pretend to comprehend. Still, for me, the correlation exists.

There are a few components of the client-agent relationship, moreover, that seem fairly clear. One is that the client group usually is "in trouble" when it seeks or accepts a change agent's help. It feels inadequate to manage its responsibilities alone. It is, in one sense, ready to throw itself on the gentle mercy of the agent. It may be open and eager to alter the situation. But at the same time, its expectations may be unrealistic or/and unlike the change agent's. The group wants to solve the problem, but wants him by some magic to define it simply. The task is the object--reaching the target: patience for understanding or managing the process is in short supply. The group may need to develop more viable relationships within its own system, or with other groups, but does not perceive this need. It may even resent that it needs outside help, and wishes at least to make a show of inner cohesion by opposing the agent.

In every client-agent relationship all these dynamics are not necessarily present. Yet some almost certainly are. The entry point, the beginning, thus is significant. Some dependency/counterdependency is likely to await him.

The change agent has to choose--carefully and rationally--what seems to be his appropriate point on the "V-W" behavior range. Over

time, the median of his style might look something like this:



This pattern is not ideal, necessarily. And it's too abstract compared to actual behavior. In practice, the line may zig-zag like a hunting dog's tracks.

This takes us to a second consideration. Whichever style is appropriate at the outset of the agent-client relationship, it seems, as noted, that only a strong stress in the "W" range leads to the "W1", interdependent outcome for the client group. And starting at "V" makes it difficult to move toward "W". The Servitor behavior, early on, tends to lead to expectations that his "doing for" role will continue. The reform program of the Advocate may remain his and his alone the group may have difficulty coming up with any modification or program of its own. 14

My value assumption here, of course, is that it's a) desirable for the client system to develop self-reliance, competence leading to self-

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Brought to mind--if not too pertinently--is the tale of the man who moaned to a friend at Sardi's restaurant in New York: "I write the play, I raise the dough to produce it. I cast the characters, serve as director, even play the lead myself. And when it folded, who do you think the critics blamed? ME!"

confidence, sufficient trust within the problem environment to operate interdependently; and b) desirable that the change agent not forever be bound to a single behavior pattern, certainly not one of the four at the "V1" end of the scale.

This assumption is clearly not held by all change agents. The articulated disagreements with my point of view probably come with regard to the hypothesis that the first four style patterns maintain or enhance dependency and low self-esteem, whereas the Community Change Educator style prompts growth of competence and collaboration. My experience leads me to this hypothesis, but I will not argue the case further. You as a member of a client group or as a practicing change agent can examine your own experience to test the validity of the style-outcome correlation.

Other disagreements stem from certain conscious or covert needs of the change agent. He may get his kicks in certain ways. One is to be able to spellbind from the speaker's podium. We may enjoy his image as an authoritative figure, or a stern-or-loving father. He may need a sense of order so strongly that he is only comfortable in human situations which he can control. His self-concept may be confirmed to the degree he can captivate people to carry out his own purposes. Or he feels self-worth himself only when he's "serving" others--doing good deeds--or when he's winning adherents to some ennobling cause. A little or lots of these needs probably appear in all of us. To the

extent that they manage us, it is difficult to adopt a flexible style congruent with the Community Change Educator.

Less opposition, I suspect, arises (in our American culture) to the desirability of persons, organizations, communities becoming more mature and self-esteeming and interdependent. Equal opportunity and participative democracy are inherited American values that seem to gain increasing acceptance (to wit: black ghetto, teacher, government worker and student protests seeking more involvement in decisions affecting them). The differences, rather, are in the domain of how--the means and methods by which--such vaulted ends can be accomplished, in part, through the behavioral style of the change agent.

I can't resist remarking, before departing from the style-response model, that I believe change agent behavior tends to have impact beyond the specific client group with which he is interacting directly. The client system--let's face it--may be represented by only a few of its members. Yet the optimal product of the continuing relationship with them is comparable to the stone dropped in the lake; the ripples fan out centrifugally. The point is: the agent is a model of behavior. His clients adopt, modify or reject his style, but the first two are quite possible. If he shows them a model that is authoritative, for example, they may imitate this style with other members of their own group, or in intercourse with other groups in the community. If his style fosters careful diagnosis, sensitivity to human feelings, in-

creased participation and the like, these also may be internalized and
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tried.

This is not quite to envision that one person in a helping role can revolutionize the climate, quality of interchange or productivity of decisions for an entire community. But it is possible that he can commence a process which increases behavioral options for clients, as this process comes into confrontation with other kinds of relationships. His "sum" may fall short of the "sweepstakes" number, but his actions can count beyond his direct interpersonal influence.

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The client group, thus, moves up to the "V-W" continuum, and those with whom it associates appear on the "V1-W1" line.

The Community Change Educator Elaborated

The style-response model presented moves the Community Change Educator under the spotlight, the guy in the white hat, as it were. Earlier the description of him was brief. Now, with the proposition made for the positive consequences of this style, we need to probe more extensively into his pattern of behavior, his relationships with the client system, his perceptions. Later it also will be relevant to take a look at the change agent's organization--his own group.

I do not happen to think that one can catalogue the segments of conduct or skills of a change agent (or any other professional, for that matter). Perhaps, though, it is feasible to try to sort out some dimensions of attitude and action on the part of the CCE.

● We might, to begin, propose that he is a blend of scientist/artist, in the non-technical sense. Temperamentally, this may not be fully possible. Hypothetically, nonetheless, the scientist in the CCE strives to describe reality and "tell it like it is." He is able to sort fact from fancy. He puts value on experimenting. The artist in him, on the other hand, sees truth beyond the fact. He is creative, in that he discovers the new amidst the old, sees fresh mixes of familiar ingredients. He senses the potential as having validity equal with the

pragmatic--in this case the potentiality of persons and groups to go beyond their current level of productivity or satisfaction. The Pater Familias or Advocate may prove to be artists. The Instructor can be the scientist. But I see the CCE as more likely to blend the experimental tradition of science with the creative tradition of the artist, and apply these to human relationships. His behavioral style will reflect the blend. He will exhibit detachment, yet his warmth will come through. Or is the word "caring"? His clients will sense his caring. They will come to know what he knows--their (potential for) growth in independence, their (latent) ability to choose wisely for themselves, their (budding) willingness to work in concert.

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● This leads into another dimension, empathy-vs-kindredness. Many
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change agents (such as some in Cooperative Extension) tend to be like those with whom they work. They have grown up in the same sub-culture and social class: they share the same traditions, perspectives, biases and responses as their clients. The role of change agent, as a result, becomes blurred. He in effect is part of the group, a full-time citizen.

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A concept generated by Everett Rogers, Michigan State University Sociologist, in a 1966 presentation at WVU.

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Where the typical pattern is a) grow up in County X, b) go to the land-grant University, c) take a job in County Y--30 miles from X, and d) work there anywhere from 10 to 40 years.

Almost a tribal identification with the client system prevails, greatly undercutting the agent's impact. Traditions are not examined, folkways questioned, significant social change goals established. The Servitor or Pater Familias style may well stem from such conditions.

Empathy is a more congruent characteristic for the CCE. It encompasses strong, positive feeling for the client group, an understanding of client difficulties that surpasseth words. Yet the CCE retains a delicate detachment from the group, a marginality that allows him to be with but not of. He is accepted as trustworthy in many groups--across social class, interest and ethnic boundaries. Yet a part of him stays uncommitted to the client-as-is, while committed to the client's capacity for development. This is comparable to the physician who, rather than use pain-killing drugs for an ailment, out of sympathy for the patient's suffering, proposes a harrowing long range rehabilitation program to eliminate the cause of pain.

To establish a change environment, tension--however supportive--needs to prevail between the CCE's vision and values, and those of the client system. The helping relationship becomes an interaction between two perspectives, the base for stimulating a creative tension for change.

Such a style--marginal, empathic--is not calculated to gain blind devotion. It is apt to be high-risk behavior. The Change Educator retains his independence. He will not always meet client expectations.

He may be seen at times as too progressive or uncooperative, or disloyal to the "Establishment". But to try to be close to a group, yet not pander to it or be its captive, is by nature risky. The crux comes --besides a bit of luck--in how flexible the agent and client can be and whether they come to trust each other sufficiently to tolerate the confrontation of differences in means and aims. Inevitably the CCE will "lose a few". His successful change relationships, hopefully, will give him the confidence, security, energy to ride out the failures.

● To this point I have equivocated on the issue of advocacy. Does not the Community Change Educator stand for something? Earlier I separated out an Advocate style as ultimately malfunctioning. Does this mean that the CCE, then, holds to no values, promotes nothing, teaches nothing? Not quite.

The distinction: a change agent with the Advocate style is committed to a problem and his fixed solution to it; the agent with the Change Educator style is committed to helping people learn to cope with the intricacies of group/community problem-solving and decisionmaking. he is a generalist in terms of the problem, a specialist in terms of the process.

He is also an advocate of human growth, of healthy interdependence, of community wholeness. Most of all, he probably is a Change Educator because a) he is discontent with the status of society's quo, and b) he believes the educational approach is the optimal way to bring about intelligent community change.

● Much has been written about social action processes. A core component of the CCE's helping style is the way he interacts with the client group in the process of making choices to resolve problems. In the broadest sense, here is the action.

He does not, as we've seen, "take over" the problem. His is much more of a diagnostic stance, and "exploring with" the client. This begins with the definition; defined and redefined through interaction. It continues through the analysis, the (creative) search for solutions, the (critical) testing of these options against situational reality and the ultimate goal. He does not choose for the group, nor does he implement the action decided upon. But he helps differentiate what the client needs to know throughout the process and helps the client obtain such knowledge or skill--including from himself. The CCE, better than client system members, is apt to understand the dynamics of the process. He can help them to examine these; to modify interpersonal blocks and to savor affective strengths, to utilize latent resources of experience and talent, to build in the norm of learning from examined experience.

● The "problem", it becomes clear, is not the sole consideration for the CCE. He is likewise aware that the client system's process of development interpenetrates throughout. He remains as sensitive to the

organic life of the group-organization-community as to its task. For these are intertwined, as remarked before in other ways. The group that has not dealt with its procedural or sub-group conflict issues, for instance, may well not be able to generate thrust toward creative options or concerted action.

There are ways by which to analyze a social system's developmental process. One that can help the CCE and client system measure growth is provided by Jack Gibb. He lists four "modal concerns" (acceptance, data, goal, control) of development and pin-points early-later changes as a system resolves these concerns. A few such signs of development: distrust-to-trust, caution strategy-to-spontaneity, competition-to-integration, dependence-to-participative interdependence.¹⁹

Though Gibb's model deals only with the small group, I believe a case can be made that it applies generally to interlocking inter-group systems (organizations, communities).

Whatever the nature of his client, therefore, the CCE explicitly behaves in ways he hopes will help it to develop. He, in effect, uses himself to aid the client system mature as it strives to resolve the problems it has undertaken.

His own gain is greater understanding of the helping relationship, plus the pleasure of seeing the client increase in stature. He and

¹⁹ Gibb, Jack R. "Climate for Trust Formation", (chapter in) Leland P. Bradford. Jack R. Gibb and Kenneth D. Benne, op.cit.

the client share a mutual adventure, from which both grow. They become "partners in change."

Such a style doubtlessly cannot be perfected. It is so much more intricate than merely giving information. It is less concrete than promoting problem definitions and solutions. For some it is less satisfying than personally carrying the banner of action.

But, Jack Gibb has asked the disturbing question: "Is Help
20 Helpful?" In the end, the Community Change Educator stands a good chance of being truly helpful.

● If the CCE's style seems overwhelming to you, I would concur. A final dimension to explore (there are many untouched here, of course) is the very impossibility of one change agent behaving in all the ways described. Thus, the team concept.

Many intricate social situations call for a team of change agents, I think. If the client system is large, for example, sub-parts may require concurrent help from several CCE's--such as small learning groups in a leadership laboratory, or a spectrum of study-action committees in a community development undertaking.

In community arenas conflict often obtains between two or more factions. The climate at the interface of contention may become so voltage-charged that one side will not trust a consultant who also works with "the enemy"; here the team of CCE's--each working with

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opposing factions--can become a third party. At certain stages such a team may be the major link between conflicting groups, the primary arc of communication in a ruptured set of relationships, the only centripetal force able to initiate conciliation or prime the process of healing.

In other instances the client group may be relatively powerless in any effort to try to work out a resolution of issues involving more potent segments of the community. The Change Educator may have no choice at first but to help his client develop sufficient "clout" (e.g., wider participation, more internal cohesion, better cross-group linkages, more effective planning skills) to be able eventually to 22
confront more potent groups on a basis of parity. Such a time of coming together may then be eased if a teammate has been consulting with the "strong side", in ways that help it see the need to share power interdependently. (Conflict situations--as between blacks and whites, poor and affluent--may not in every case benefit from a team. There still is much we do not know about conflict management.)

Finally comes the matter of competencies and personal attributes. One CCE may be more artist, and his colleague more scientist. One shines in helping groups to analyze problematic situations and establish

21 The mediative "third party" concept was discussed at a 1968 University of Michigan conference on interracial tensions by Floyd Mann, research/faculty member of the U of M's Institute of Social Research.

22 The question of "clout" and "parity" are taken up in Franklin and Franklin, *op.cit.* Chapter 6, Two Decision-making Strategies."

attainable goals, another in encouraging clients to place more validity in their own experiences and desires, one in sparking an innovative working climate, another in knowing where to turn for relevant data.

This is not to suggest the size of the team, except that it is two or more Community Change Educators. The team, in any event, makes possible multiple interventions into the life of the client system and the problem configuration.

All change organizations obviously do not have funds to sponsor more than one change agent to a community on a continuing basis. There remains, though, the alternative of forming ad hoc teams for crucial points in the change process--colleagues who come to help for a day or a week.

Other change agencies are able to provide "multiple intervenors" continuously (WVU's Appalachian Center averages from two to four per county; VISTAS often are more heavily concentrated). These may or may not perceive themselves as a team. I suspect that, to the degree that their styles tend toward the "W" end of the change agent continuum, the greater is the time spent working together and helping each other. Some of the most effective work with clients that I have seen occurred when from four to a dozen CCE's formed a temporary helping team. They worked closely with each other and with the client system--thus establishing a living demonstration of authentic relationships, of interdependent collaboration.

The Agent's Own Group--The Change Agency

Far from all gaps pertaining to the behavioral styles of the change agent have been closed in this essay. There is one more, especially, that needs tightening a bit. That is the matter of the change agency itself, the organization which sponsors him. (Relatively few change agents find it possible to counsel or consult with organizations--except businesses--or communities as self-employed entrepreneurs.)

This is an overriding consideration. The very nature of his sponsoring organization has a cogent influence upon the change agent's approach to his role.

If the agency itself is centered on a single problem, however universal, it probably advocates a solution. It wishes its agent to work only with clients interested in that problem and willing to accept the agency's solution. (The disease prevention agencies are examples). The view of the agency is apt to be geographically global--national or state. It's "program" does not account for local variations. To the extent that the change agent in the field is able to adopt the style of the Community Change Educator, the greater may he be circumventing his organization's policy.

Not all change agencies are advocates, in this narrower sense. Especially not those associated with educational institutions. Even here, organizational constraints can intrude. As a "micro case", let's look at my agency, WVU's Appalachian Center, of which Cooperative

Extension is the primary field component. Cooperative Extension, historically, has been heavily influenced by the norms, pronouncements and financial controls of the Federal Extension Service (in 50 states, not just West Virginia). The unending chain of required reports, the requests for detailed plans, the "suggestions" for programs from FES represent an approach that is low on organizational trust of its change agents, and high on the need to exercise top-down control. This bureaucratic approach tends not to nurture innovativeness, high risk and other attributes associated with the CCE's style.

Such an approach is apt to be reinforced in the university itself (at odds with the traditions of freedom within academia). Action targets are mapped and programs devised on campus, hopefully to be implemented by field staff in communities throughout the state.

Responses to this top-down planning vary. Rewards are seen to go to the agents who carry out the centrally planned "curriculum" and do it well. Others reject "anything from Morgantown" (home of WVU) out of hand. The remainder try to utilize university resources (whether packaged in perky printed covers or the human epidermis of colleagues) as these are congruent with distinctive needs of client groups.

The Appalachian Center may be typical of many change agencies in still another way. It provides the agent with a badly needed link, or affiliation, outside the community; the university gives him an external source of support--tangible and intangible. But it then reverses itself and binds him to a local sponsoring committee, upon whom he is partially dependent for funds as well as his own employment. This too

frequently gives the local group control (excessive influence) over the behavior of the agent--unless he ranks remarkably high on the risk-taking scale. This delimiting of autonomy does at least two negative things:

- 1) because the relationship between agent and committee is not mutually voluntary, the agent is restricted in the kinds of projects and processes and client groups with which he can work

- 2) he psychologically tends to see himself as a locally-bound "worker" rather than as a professional Community Change Educator concerned with and having access to all social and geographic segments of the community--but with a solid outside link to the university.

His loyalty and his professional purpose suffer a split--between his local links and the university. He may even labor under an "identity crisis". Considerable cross-pressure, guilt, hostility and frustration build from this university--agent--local matrix of influence.

Part of the issue, of course, is how the change agent sees himself in this structure. In daily operation the change agency may not display all the restraints that I describe. With the Appalachian Center, itself, I overemphasize to get a message through. In my micro-case, therefore, there are Appalachian Center field staff who perceive themselves as relatively self-directing change agents able to move flexibly on the "V-W" continuum in the foregoing model and stimulate client groups to vere markedly toward "W1" independent-interdependent outcomes. Their professional self-concept permits them to respond to the influences from both parent organizations and the community client system in a manner that leaves them free to behave much of the time as Community Change Educators.

Let me generalize this agency-agent-client matrix of expectations and perceptions by presenting a schemata of influence for each of the five change agent styles discussed earlier (in which one-way arrows imply the dominate direction of influence, while double-headed arrows suggest mutual or two-way influence):

1. Change Agency <--> Change Agent ---> Client System
as
Instructor

(The change agent gives and receives influence in regard to his own agency, but it's one-way with his clients.)

2. Change Agency ---- Change Agent ----> Client System
as
Pater Familias

(He feels so possessive of his "turf" that little influence is exchanged with the parent organization.)

3. Change Agency ----> Change Agent ----> Client System
as
Advocate

(The flow of communication and influence is toward the client only.)

4. Change Agency ----> Change Agent <---- Client System
as
Servitor

(This relationship obviously produces pressure; here is one definition of being "in the middle".)

5. Change Agency <----> Change Agent <----> Client System
as
Change Educator

(Agent, client and agency all perceive him as relatively independent in an environment of trust and mutual interdependence.)

The five figures are much too neat for my eclectic tendency. But they highlight the fact that the helping relationship is influenced by the agency to which the agent belongs. The scheme aids in clarifying this influence, as well as the subtle matter that the same influences are perceived differently and dealt with differently, due to the internal dynamics within each change agent and his basic helping style.

Clearly certain relationships with his own sponsoring organization, actual and perceived, must be present or possible if the agent is to behave in the manner of a Community Change Educator.

Capping the Geyser

This essay, for me, has tapped a vein that's been pressing toward the surface for some time: I hope the flow from your vantage point has been flecked with fresh mental nutrients and not just a stir of brackish water.

My own concern springs from the backlogging inventory of significant social problems and challenges facing us. We began there. Men know enough to palliate the problems--if we can connect our knowledge to the problem and to the people in the problem; internalize both our experience and research wisdom so that these progress from understanding to action. The Community Change Educator is one who aids in such a process.

Yet I do not see him as the latest in a changing dynasty of saviors --religious, military, executive, scientific. He, perhaps, is starting a tradition of a different sort: without charisma, without salvation promised; but with a pledge to help people realize their potentialities, keep their dreams alive, expand their patience for the uncertain process of community living. The very irony of his style may be that, while he at times is sent away in ignominy, rarely are his successes marked by sculpted facsimiles in the park. His only monument will be the more "competent community".²³

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A term borrowed from Hans Spiegel, Urbanologist at Columbia University.

